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726 Greatest reliance, however, seemed to be placed on the information that could be obtained through a "ghost-helper."¹⁸ If a member of the party was known to have the power to command the spirit of a deceased member of his family, he was requested to exercise it. It was said that more often than not the predictions were extremely accurate, as in the following two cases, recounted by The Boy. The first one is estimated to have occurred sometime between 1835 and 1840 and The Boy's grandfather was one of the participants.

"The Gros Ventres were camped near the forks of the Teton and Marias Rivers. Practically all the men had agreed to go on the war path. So they left camp and on the first day arrived at the place where Crow Coulee or Creek empties into the Missouri. When it was dark someone said: 'Let's offer the pipe to that man and ask him to find what our prospects on this venture may be, good or bad.' They filled a pipe and presented it to the man, whose deceased father was proven to be his ghost-helper. He accepted willingly. Soon after they smoked, they made a shelter where he was to call his helper. Then they tied up the man and filled the pipe again and put it in the shelter along with him. He sang a song in which the others joined and on the fourth repetition they heard a voice up in the air. The ghost-helper arrived and the shelter shook. When he hit the ground, the ground shook. The ghost-helper was seemingly excited and kept repeating: 'What do you want, my children?' And he said also: 'If you were in my place and old as I am, and as feeble, you wouldn't like to be disturbed. But here I am. What do you want?' They said: 'We want to know how this trip is going to be—what luck we will have—what are our prospects?'

"They lit a pipe and offered it to the ancestral spirit. They could see from the flaring of the pipe that he was smoking it. Then the spirit said: 'Well, I don't know offhand. I'll have to look around. While I'm gone you smoke, and after a little while sing again. And I'll come back.' So they followed his instructions. When he came back they could hear the spirit catching its breath as an old man does and it said: 'My children, there are

¹⁸ For discussion of ghost-helper concept among the Gros Ventres see Flannery, 1944, also Cooper Ms. 1949.

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Crow Indians without number invading the camp you just left. They are so bold, knowing you men are away, that they are peeping in the lodges watching your women as they are playing the hand game. Your women are in happy mood.' Then the spirit said: 'These Crow Indians seem to be preparing to take all the Gros Ventre horses. I'll go back again and watch the Crows to see what they will do.' So they did as before, and when the spirit returned he said: 'The Crows have taken practically all of your horses and will arrive where you now are about sun-up. Don't be afraid of them, provided you do one thing: be sure to kill the Crow with the blue blanket coat. He is the only brave man in the crowd. Kill him first and you'll kill all the others. None of the Gros Ventres will be killed, but two will be wounded. In case you do not kill the Crow with the blue coat, the outcome of the battle will be doubtful.' 726
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"It was nearing dawn by the time the spirit had made his final report, so the men decided to sit up and not sleep the rest of the night. At daylight, the leader sent two good men to the knoll about a half-mile away to look around. The scouts took a look, crawled back out of sight, got to their feet and ran toward the waiting men as fast as they could. The group had gathered buffalo chips in preparation of the usual ceremony of receiving scouts but the scouts yelled: 'Kick the pile of chips apart. There is no time for formality. Get ready to fight as quickly as you can—the Crows are right over that hill!' The Gros Ventres prepared hurriedly for battle and started for the knoll.

"One old man only was mounted, all the rest were a-foot. This old man was the one who threw the Crows into a panic because he had ridden to a high hill to watch the fight, and the Crows believed that they were going to be surrounded by mounted Gros Ventres. The Crows decided to dismount, make a stand, and let go the horses they had captured from the Gros Ventres. They selected high ground, one side sloping away with soft dirt, the other side grassy. The Gros Ventres were on the flat ground and so the fight started.

"While the main group of Gros Ventres engaged the enemy, a few followed a coulee until they got inside the Crow group and were able to kill a good many. The Crows decided to run, when

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726 the man with a blue coat tried to hold them: 'If you run you'll
787 suffer a big loss. If you make a stand, the loss won't be so bad.'
764 But they ran right toward the thick mass of Gros Ventres, who
received them by opening up a lane for them. The Gros Ventres
were afraid then to shoot on account of hitting their own men in
cross fire. The man in the blue coat saw the situation and started
to run shouting: 'I have no doubt I shall save myself, for I am a
good runner. Do your best to try to get away now.' So he ran
into the midst of the Gros Ventres, and right through them, pass-
ing his fellow-tribesmen until he was leading the fleeing Crows.

"Suddenly one Crow got brave and decided to make a stand
and stem the pursuit by the Gros Ventres. He dropped back and
pointed a gun at Bear Robe, but another Gros Ventre decided
to attack him and the Crow was so terrified that he failed to pull
the trigger until the Gros Ventre hit the gun. The shot tore Bear
Robe's arm from the elbow to wrist and threw him off balance.
When he recovered, the Crow was still there with his gun so
Bear Robe ran up and snatched the gun and spear from the Crow
and threw them away.

"The Gros Ventres were still pursuing the Crow, and another
one made a stand. A Gros Ventre, Crow Moccasin, armed only
with a tomahawk, struck him. The Crow staggered and dropped
his gun, but grabbed Crow Moccasin's arm to which the tomahawk
was fastened with a string. In the struggle the Crow reached for
his knife and jerked Crow Moccasin toward himself and slashed
his wrist, but he had jerked so hard that the string holding the
tomahawk gave way and the Crow lost balance, then ran. An-
other Gros Ventre shot him down. The fight went on until the
older men thought they should stop and let the Crows go. The one
with the blue coat got away along with nineteen others. Forty
Crow were, however, killed, and the only casualties suffered by
the Gros Ventres were two wounded. It would seem that from
what the ghost helper had told them, if they would have killed the
man in the blue coat, they would have killed all of the Crow."

This second illustration refers to events of much later date,
about 1875. "A Gros Ventre war party was camped east of
Lewiston, across the Missouri River. Morning Star Arises was
asked to consult his ghost-helper who reported: 'All right. I am

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ready to tell you. First, here's the scalp of the Sioux you will kill tomorrow. [This was one strand of hair wrapped around a piece of sage brush, symbolic of the scalp.] I've found a big Sioux camp on Beaver Creek (east of the Little Rocky Mountains). The Sioux are having a big Grass Dance and the one you are to kill tomorrow is having the most fun. He has a sword. You'll capture that sword when you kill him. Don't be afraid. There will be no Gros Ventres killed, but two of you don't look good to me.' The Gros Ventres asked that he name the two, but he refused, saying: 'Just don't be afraid. Go ahead to the place where the Sioux are and attack them. Choose what kind of weather you want to make your escape after the fight, and I'll see that the weather will be that way.' They failed to make a choice, but the spirit said: 'Take a look at the sun every once in a while tomorrow. There will be all kinds of sundogs tomorrow, changing every little while. If they appear, you'll know that I have told the truth.'

"The next morning they decided that only those with good horses should cross the Missouri and attack the Sioux. They approached the camp where the Sioux had spent the night. The Sioux had failed to extinguish their former camp fires, and the embers were blown into flame and the fire was extending toward their new camp. The Sioux decided to fight the prairie fire, laying down their arms, not realizing the Gros Ventres were watching them. The Gros Ventres then attacked. The Sioux were in utter confusion and ran, all of them except a man with a sword who made a stand. Two Gros Ventres, Comes A-Flying and Owl Old Man, tried to ride over this Sioux who, however, side-stepped them and struck both their horses with his sword; meanwhile the Gros Ventres struck the Sioux with their whips, thus counting coups. A third Gros Ventre, Crazy Bear, however, killed him, took his scalp and claimed his sword. Since they had gotten this one scalp—which was sufficient for them to celebrate with a victory dance,—they returned. They saw the sundogs changing as the spirit had foretold. In order to evade the pursuit by the Sioux, they called on the man, whose ghost-helper had given the information, to change the weather. The man sang a song, using his robe as a cover to enclose himself, and said he

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- 726 wanted a downpour of rain. At once a cloud appeared and in no
 787 time it was a big black storm cloud. Then there was a wind and
 769 a very heavy storm and thus the Gros Ventres got safely back to
 camp. The only loss on this occasion was that of two fine horses,
 one played out and the other foundered from drinking when over-
 heated."

RETURN OF THE WAR PARTY

- 727 After a successful encounter with the enemy, the homecoming
 was a joyful one, provided no Gros Ventre lives had been lost.
 As they approached the camp, appropriate songs were said to
 have been sung by the victorious party. If, for instance, they had
 stolen horses there was one type of song. On the other hand
 [302] when scalps had been taken, they sang other kinds of songs and
 painted themselves with charcoal. Incidentally, the Gros Ven-
 tres had a saying that "women and children do not make good
 charcoal." Women and children should be captured but not
 killed and scalped."

- When the victorious party arrived, they circled the outside of
 the encampment before entering. "Then the party broke, each
 member surrounded by his womenfolk who crowded around, kiss-
 ing him and taking the scalps or other trophies which had been
 won. After a reasonable interval, the crier called all to come to
 [302] the center of the circle and dance. Men and women alike black-
 ened their faces with charcoal, and the women, carrying scalps
 attached to poles, or weapons captured from the enemy, danced
 as innumerable victory songs were sung. Only members of the
 war party were allowed to join with the women in dancing.
 Many husbands, who had to stand on the sidelines, were jealous
 of the brave warriors at a time like this."

- 727 Most of the songs sung during the victory celebration had
 533 words which referred to encounters wherein the Gros Ventres
 had been successful. New words were often made up to com-
 memorate a particular incident. One of these songs had the fol-
 lowing words: "Where are you going? I've been here all the

- [567] "Cocking, p. 112, mentions in 1772 that the Gros Ventres adopted
 "slaves" of both sexes into families who had lost their children either by
 war or sickness.

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774 In general, apart
 775 from the ghost helper and gambling power complexes, to be
 [769] described later, no cult of ghosts existed, and no prayers or food
 or other offerings were made to them. Ghosts of those who had
 committed unjustified murder, as defined by the Gros Ventre
 code, did not go where the other souls went, but stayed where
 their bodies lay or wandered around and "bothered" the living.
 [753] If a person suffered a stroke, a ghost, apparently of a murderer,
 was thought to have caused it and to have twisted the victim's
 face or mouth and pulled the eyelid down.

775 Ghosts, "bothered" the living in less serious ways, appearing
 539 in the shadow and disappearing, whistling, playing tricks, in more
 recent times rapping on windows, and so forth. The two following
 stories, told by The Boy in light vein and laughingly, illustrate
 ghostly ways.

"A war party of brave Gros Ventres started out.²⁴ Toward evening they came to a timbered stream and made a lodge of willows near a good-sized tree, not knowing that a couple had been buried there. After a good meal, they were singing and enjoying themselves, when they heard someone hollering far off. The hollering kept coming closer and closer to their camp until it got very near. One of the men said: 'We had better start up a fire.' Before anyone got up to fetch wood, wood began being thrown into the tepee. This kept up until the tepee was so loaded up with wood that they were crowded out. They then started to carry the wood out of the tepee. One man remarked: 'I never heard of a ghost killing anybody.' Then they heard the ghost laughing a little distance off. One of the men shot toward the spot from which the laughing was coming, but the ghost laughed all the more. All the men then got back inside the tepee, and one of them said: 'I'll get some wood and we'll make some tea.' A good fire was started, and the old fellows prayed with the pipe. The ghost was meanwhile moving the embers away to keep the fire from burning. Before the snow was fetched to be melted, snow fell from the open center top of the tepee and put the fire out. At this they got scared and said: 'Let's move from here.'

²⁴ In 1948 The Boy remarked that this happened in Lame Bull's life time; and that the ghost referred to in the story is the kind known as tsē:k. [R.F.]

CHAPTER VI

SUPERNATURAL POWERS

Most of the Gros Ventre rites and observances thus far dealt with in the present volume were intended to fulfill the wishes and needs of the whole tribe or of larger segments thereof and were actively participated in by all or many members of the tribe. In this sense these rites and observances constituted collectivistic public cult, and leaned toward cooperative altruism. The chief wishes they sought to satisfy were for continued long life for all, with abundance of food and other material necessities, and with freedom from epidemics, storms and tribal enemies, and for continued concord and solidarity among the tribal members. Ritual reliance was upon the petition, mostly to the major deities, the Supreme Being and Bha'a, through prayer expressed in word and in act. 771

Most of the rites and observances to be dealt with from here on were intended to fulfill the wishes and needs of specific individuals and were participated in by very small groups. In this sense these rites and observances constituted individualistic private cult, and leaned toward egoism, often a competitive egoism. The chief wishes they sought to satisfy were for knowledge of distant or future events, prestige through war prowess and wealth, cure of individual illness, and success in gambling or in sex affairs. Ritual reliance was upon the immediate help given in each case of appeal by an ancestral spirit or upon supernatural power imparted once for all by some non-ancestral superhuman being.

In the present section we shall take up first the personal ancestral helpers, and after that the personal supernatural powers. 787

Separate treatment of personal ancestral helpers and of personal powers seems advisable in view of certain rather fundamental differences between the two cultural patterns involved. The spiritual helper was appealed to for knowledge of distant or future events; other lesser beings for supernatural power in matters of 769●

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787 war, wealth, curing, gambling, and sex. The helper imparted no power of clairvoyance or prophecy; the other lesser beings did impart one or other of the specific powers above listed. The helper had to be summoned to come in person on each occasion when needed; the other beings gave power once for all to the receiver and were not, at least not ordinarily, summoned to come in person when the imparted power was exercised. The helper was always a deceased relative of the helped; the power-giver was a non-ancestral being. The helper was not acquired by quest, he more or less forced his services on the recipient, and was not transferable; personal power was commonly (although not always) acquired by quest, was accepted or refused freely, and was more commonly transferable.

Our chief sources of information upon personal ancestral helpers and personal supernatural powers were: among the men, The Boy, Thick, Al Chandler, Thomas Main, Turn Toes; among the women, Coming Daylight, Singer, Garter Snake, Mary Ereaux, Cora Chandler. Their competence will, we believe, become clear from the circumstances to be noted passim in the present section.

ANCESTRAL HELPERS

The ancestral helper complex among the Gros Ventres has been recorded in detail by us in two papers published in 1944,¹ to which the reader is referred. The following account is a summarized version of these two papers.

The ancestral or ghost helper was called tsätsuwa'a,² of uncertain etymology. The word was used exclusively for such ancestral helpers, as distinct from other ghosts (see p. 23).

Such a ghost helper was acquired, not by quest through fasting or crying, as power was more commonly acquired. Acquisition usually came about as follows. A man or woman would keep some memento of a deceased close relative, such as some prized possession or else a rib or tooth³ or lock of hair of the deceased,—either in

¹ Flannery, 1944, pp. 54-59; Cooper, 1944, pp. 80-84.

² This same word is used by the Gros Ventres at present for "radio."

³ After the body had decomposed. Formerly the Gros Ventres did not bury the dead in the ground, cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 211.

order to acquire the ghost of the deceased as a helper, or else solely out of regard for the departed. In most cases nothing happened; in a few, however, the ghost of the deceased became the survivor's supernatural helper. In these exceptional cases, the survivor would be apt to hear knocking, whistling or other disturbances around the spot where the memento was kept. Then the ghost would appear to the survivor, perhaps first putting him in a deep sleep, and would offer to become his helper, or ask him if he would wish this. An offer made by the ghost could not easily be refused.

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The survivor had some leeway—Al Chandler's adoptive father, Little Man, accepted such an offer only on condition that he would call upon the ghost for his personal use and not for public use—but more commonly the ghost not only took the initiative in offering its services but more or less forced its services upon the survivor.

While the survivor was still in deep sleep or trance, he or she—women as well as men could have a ghost helper—would be taught by the ancestral spirit the proper rites, including always and particularly a song, to be used by the survivor in summoning and making use of the spirit. One such ghost-summoning song (number 27), a wordless one, recorded as sung by The Boy, had been given to Woman, nicknamed Bear Old Woman, who died around 1907, by her deceased husband (or brother?), Bad Bad Bull. It had been his doctoring song when he was alive and his ghost gave it to her to use both in summoning him and in curing people.⁴ It should be emphasized, however, that a person could have an ancestral helper without having doctoring power, and vice versa. A person who lacked a ghost helper could not conduct the ghost-summoning tent-shaking rite, no matter how great power of other kinds he had acquired by quest or otherwise.

Songs other than those given for use in summoning the ancestral helper and conducting the shaking tent rite were sometimes given and taught by the helper to the person who had the helper, on occasions other than that on which the summoning song itself

⁴ Cf. Cooper, 1944, 62, 72-75.

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787 was given. Two such songs, victory songs, given during war raids, were recorded by us.

[184] A great many Gros Ventre men and women had power acquired by quest or otherwise from non-ancestral beings, but far fewer had ancestral helpers such as we are describing. Our informants, in fact, whose combined memories carried back to the early 1860's, could recall only five or at most six, seven or eight: Good Singer, Woman (or Bear Old Woman), Morning Star Appears (probably the same as Rising Cross), Bird Child, Bull Head, and perhaps two or three others.* Persons with ghost helpers had prestige, not greater however than outstanding doctors had.

[425] Power acquired from non-ancestral beings could be transferred by the possessor to another person through gift or sale. But a ghost helper was not transferable; such power was owned property; a ghost helper was not. A given person never had more than one ghost helper, so far as we could discover. In the shaking tent rite, only this one ghost helper had part,—no other being, neither the Supreme Being, nor Bha'a, nor Little Spirit,* nor any power-giving being.

At the time the ghost helper was accepted by its surviving relative, it promised him (or her) to come when summoned with the summoning song, but, in sharp contrast to the practice of non-ancestral power-bestowing beings, it imparted no power to him whatever, whether in war, medicine, gambling or love, except the "power," if it can be called such, to summon the ghost and except by sheer coincidence as in the case of Bad Bad Bull mentioned above. The ghost helper imparted not power, but knowledge; not any power of clairvoyance, prophecy or wisdom, but knowledge itself; not once and for all at the time of being accepted by the person, as did the power-bestowing beings but from time to time if and when summoned. The sole function of the ghost helper as

* Cf. Flannery, 1944, pp. 55-58; Cooper, 1944, pp. 62-77 passim. Rising Cross of Flannery, p. 56, was pretty surely the same person as Morning-Star-Appears or Morning-Star-Is-Up, of Cooper, p. 71; probably the same person as mentioned in Watches-All's narrative by Kroeber, 1908, pp. 216-17.

[114] * That Little Spirit could function in the shaking tent rite in place of an ancestral spirit, as stated reservedly by Cooper, 1940, p. 112, is an error, corrected by field data gotten by him later.

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such was, in answer to questions asked it on each separate occasion when summoned, to reveal knowledge about past, present, future or distant happenings or to impart counsel and directions on what to do in given cases of illness or danger. The ghost helper rarely if ever came unsummoned and only exceptionally volunteered information. As a rule it gave information in response to specific questions asked. The helper was never questioned about trivial or silly matters, or about such things as the fidelity or infidelity of a wife. Questions would be asked, for example, regarding missing persons, the whereabouts and plans of the enemy, the fortunes of a distant war party,⁷ the outcome of an impending battle or of an illness, the location of a stolen article and the identity of the thief, the best place to go for good buffalo-hunting.

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The ghost helper did not hover around the person habitually. When need for its services arose it had to be summoned from afar, from the distant abode of the dead.

When the services of a person with a ghost helper were desired, he (or she) was approached with an offer of a pipe to smoke. He was often reluctant or afraid to accept, but could not easily refuse.

The summoning rite was held at night, with the fire out, in darkness,—ordinarily in the performer's lodge, but, if the party were away from camp, in a small emergency shelter or sweat-lodge. If the rite were held in the performer's lodge in camp, a blanket-curtain was hung up across part of the back of the lodge, and the performer stayed hidden behind this out of sight of the clients or spectators.

Commonly, although not always, the performer was first wrapped in a blanket and then securely bound with thongs, the binding often being done by some skeptic present who was challenged by the performer to do it.

After being tied, the ghost-possessor sang his summoning song, those present joining in. As the ghost helper approached, whistling, humming, and other noises, sometimes an owl call, would be heard. As the ghost entered the lodge, always through the top, the top of the lodge and often the whole lodge would shake violently, and

⁷ For an example of use of ancestral helper on a war party, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 94-98.

- 769 something (presumably the ghost) would sometimes be heard
 787 sliding down the side of the tent—behind the curtain where the
 performance was and landing with a thump. Soon after the thongs
 with which the performer had been bound would be thrown out,
 rolled in a tangled ball over the curtain at the spectators.

Next a pipe would be lit and offered to the ghost to smoke, and in the darkness the tobacco would be seen to glow up rhythmically each time the ghost drew on it. The ghost itself, however, at this juncture and throughout the rite remained invisible. The people present would finish smoking this pipe, after which the ghost would ask why he had been summoned. Most ghost helpers talked a whistling talk; some just in a natural voice.

If the ghost could answer offhand the question or questions asked it would do so. Otherwise it would tell the questioners to wait while it went away to get the information requested. As it departed through the top, the tent shook. While the ghost was away the people in the lodge would light the fire, have a smoke, put out the fire and sing the ghost song. On returning through the top with the usual shaking thereof the ghost would give the information asked. Usually such information was dependable, but not always; one such ghost we were told of had been a liar when living—"so you couldn't expect his spirit to tell the truth!"

After the ghost had given the desired information (or perhaps earlier in the rite, after it had had its smoke), food, especially puppy meat was offered it, and in the dark the spectators could hear the ghost eating. Finally the ghost would depart through the top of the lodge, which would shake violently as the ghost left.

After the ghost's departure, the performer would come out from behind the curtain, the fire would be re-lighted, the customary prayer before eating would be offered by the performer to the Supreme Being and other beings, all present would eat the food left over from the ghost's repast, and, after smoking and chatting a while together, all would depart.

In the ghost helper calling-rite carried out under emergency conditions, as on war expeditions, certain supplications and omissions could be and were sometimes made. The several detailed accounts of seances recorded by us indicate moreover that quite

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apart from emergency conditions, ritual variations from the above-described pattern occurred, perhaps in accord with varying ritual instructions received by different individuals from their respective ghost helpers.

Before leaving the ghost helper complex and taking up the power complex, we may mention here one case, given us by Al Chandler, the only one of its kind we recorded, which shares certain elements peculiar to each. Al Chandler's adoptive father, Little Man, was keeping a rib bone of his deceased uncle, who had been "a kind of medicine man." His uncle's spirit came and asked Little Man: "Why do you do this? What are you going to do with me?" "This is just for myself," Little Man replied. "I don't want to be that kind who have spirits. If I need you I am going to call on you and I want you to help me. I am not going to make you a popular servant (not going to use the rib in general practice). But if I need you, you can come and help me."

Little Man, Al told us, made use of that rib one time when he cured his brother-in-law, old Turn Toes, of facial paralysis (caused by ghosts: cf. supra, p. 23). Brothers-in-law like to tease each other. So when Turn Toes came to Little Man to be treated, the latter took the rib, rubbed it four times, and in fun twisted Turn Toes' mouth way around on the other side. At this, Little Man's wife got angry and said: "You shouldn't do that to him." Little Man said: "I just want to make sure that the next time his mouth won't go crooked on this other side." So then Little Man put his brother-in-law's mouth straight and shoved his eyes up in place. And Al added: "You can see that old man [Turn Toes] today [1940] and he is all right." [Turn Toes has since died, in 1942 or 1943].

Whether in the above case curing power was in the rib itself or whether the ghost of Little Man's uncle came and cured on occasions of use of the rib, is not clear. If the latter, as implied in Little Man's words to his uncle, at the beginning, we have a curing differing materially from the one to be described in the following on supernatural power, and much more akin to the Woodland Algonquian concept of the guardian spirit proper,—the guardian spirit who comes on call to cure and otherwise to help the possessor,

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- 769 —rather than the power-giving being who bestows upon the
 787 recipient power the latter can use at will without having recourse
 to or summoning the original donor. No historical interpretation
 is here being suggested. It looks, instead, that Little Man's deviant
 power in the case was merely an idiosyncratic variant of the ghost
 helper concept to which, not wishing to assume the normal public
 offices of persons with ghost helpers, he attached to curing func-
 tions not for all ailments but for ailments caused by ghosts.

PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

- 787 Supernatural power was acquired by an individual mostly for
 778 success in war, accumulation of wealth, doctoring, gambling or
 love. It was obtained more commonly by quest, although often
 without quest, and could be transferred by sale, gift or bequest.
 It was bestowed by many different kinds of beings,—mostly
 quadrupeds, birds, snakes, rocks; in some cases, ghosts, inde-
 terminate "persons" or "spirits." How and from whom power
 was acquired differed appreciably in accordance with the several
 above-listed kinds of power. These differences we shall describe
 later in detail under these several categories: war, wealth, doctor-
 ing, gambling and love. Before doing so, we shall deal with cer-
 tain characteristics more or less common to all the above five
 categories.

- 782 In general, the Gros Ventres distinguished between three chief
 869 methods of fulfilling their desires and wants: natural ability,
 prayer and power. A person was supposed to make best use of
 his native physical and mental endowments to acquire skills, to
 use his wits, to develop his capacities and personality,—in a word,
 to rely on himself and to stand on his own feet, whether as food-
 getter, craftsman, warrior, gambler, or what not. His second re-
 course, where his inborn and acquired abilities fell short or threat-
 ened to fall short of enabling him to fulfill his wishes and needs,
 was prayer, primarily although by no means exclusively to the
 Supreme Being. The third choice, in the ideal order, was resort
 to power.

Turn Toes, for instance, as an orphaned boy used to be advised